

PEACE NEWS

For War-Resistance and World-Community

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THREE PENCE

Return to normal

"NEWS that Gandhi had been assassinated," says Tribune, "shook the whole world for a moment from its cynical and complacent ways."

The operative phrase is "for a moment." Vice paused to pay its tribute to virtue, and went on its way again. This was not hypocrisy—the tribute was essentially a sincere one. Practical politics is not so much wicked as unrealistic.

Mr. Brailsford's plea that, in the name of the Mahatma, a direct meet-

COMMENTARY

by

CYRIL HUGHES

ing should take place in India between representatives of Russia and Britain to make peace between their two countries is probably much too sensible and practical for this age of false ideals.

Certainly the vicious wheels of power politics have quickly creaked into motion again. The Russians, by their note to Persia, are probably not opening a second front in the cold war, as The New Statesman suggests, but are consolidating their positions already gained. The note is, after all, addressed to Persia, though most people choose to regard it as aimed at America. But American forces in Persia are small, whereas Persian oil resources are large. Russia has everything to gain by concentrating on the Middle East, of which she is a near neighbour, and where her influence can only have increased as a result of the rapid demise of the British Middle Eastern defence plan. The Persian note is one of those defensive actions which, in accordance with the best rules of war, have an aggressive appearance.

Austria and Japan

THIS policy of consolidation, already prescribed for the Cominform, is evident elsewhere, too. The recent journey of Polish politicians and military leaders to Moscow was hardly to enable them to sample the joys of the Russian winter. The Polish treaty may be expected to have undergone modifications indicative of Kremlin policy; and the Czech treaty may be next on the list.

Meanwhile, the ground is being prepared for an attempt to draw Finland more closely into the Soviet fold, with the possible cancellation of reparations as a bait.

That there would be opposition to this policy in Finland is certain, but the opposition would be ineffective unless it could show the way to closer Finnish ties with Western Europe—and that would depend on the operation of the Marshall Plan. It would seem that Russia has time on her side. Already the Finnish Communist Party has joined the Cominform.

It is as part of this general Russian policy that the apparent concession over the question of German external assets in Austria can best be considered. Mr. Molotov will now accept 200 million dollars and control over Austrian oil resources, and consider the matter settled. It is one advantage of making your original demands exorbitant that when you reduce them to what is merely severe, you give the impression of generosity. Whether this offer will be accepted is not yet known, but the concession may at least lead to a fur-

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX)

CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S CHURCHES ISSUE PEACE MANIFESTO

Centuries old division ends in joint condemnation of war

PRAQUE, THE SCENE OF EUROPE'S GREAT STRUGGLE FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM, HAS ONCE AGAIN WITNESSED A GREAT CHRISTIAN DEMONSTRATION. ON FEB. 2, 1948, THE CHURCHES OF ALL DENOMINATIONS ORGANISED A UNITED MEETING FOR PEACE AND AGAINST VIOLENT METHODS.

A large crowd, unable to get into the city's largest and already overcrowded hall, stood for two hours in the rain listening to the speeches relayed by loud-speakers.

Inside the hall on the platform were seated the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Prague, Dr. Beran; the Exarch of the Moscow Patriarchate, Archbishop Jelevferej; the Bishop of the Old Catholic Church; the Bishop of the National Czechoslovak Church and the representatives of all the Protestant denominations in Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia. Below the platform sat as invited guests leading members of the Government and Parliament as well as the Chief Rabbi of Bohemia.

The common challenge for world-peace made by the Christian Churches

was introduced by several leading clergymen and ministers.

Some of the Churches had agreed on a common spokesman which is another proof of their genuine accord.

The Archbishop, Dr. Beran, speaking on behalf of the Roman-Catholic and the Greek-Catholic Churches, recalled the unity of the first Christians which was the consequence of their real Christian love. He stressed the three duties of all real Christians to call, work and pray for peace. The Slovak Bishop, Dr. Ruppeldt, speaking for the two Protestant confes-

sions of Slovakia and for the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren, spoke of the respect for every language and people implicit in the common belief in one God.

Most touching were the words of the white-haired senior Bishop Vancura speaking on behalf of the Moravian Church and the Old-Catholic Church. He spoke of the only submission in which there is neither fear nor seed of conflict, the submission to the Prince of Love and Peace that brings liberation from hatred and fear.

There were nine speeches all in the same spirit of fraternal understanding and framed by musical items of the choirs of the Roman-Catholic, the Russian Orthodox, and the National Czechoslovak Churches and the Evangelical Church of the Czech Brethren. At the end the Archbishop, Dr. Beran called the Protestant professor, Dr. Bednar, to read the common manifesto in the name of all.

A convincing manifesto

In a very convincing though rather long text this manifesto points out the sincere longing of all peoples for peace and co-operation which must be respected by all.

Whatever the differences of opinion on the political and economic structure of human society, whatever the different interests of powers, no problem can really be solved by violence. War only brings inevitably more confusion and destruction.

But the manifesto is not content to call war an irresponsible criminal method, it also condemns a situation in which, though arms be quiet, humanity is divided into groups lacking spiritual contact and economic and cultural co-operation. Such dismemberment is the first step to war-like conflicts. Therefore the Churches of Czechoslovakia call first on their own people to give an example of a peaceful solution to world problems. They also appeal to all Christians of the world to work and pray with them for the brotherhood of Christendom.

Christians ought to be people of faith like those of the first centuries who simply acted in obedience to God's commandments, not minding any obstacles and human prospects of failure.

On the strength of their own united determination to work for peace, the Christian Churches of Czechoslovakia also appeal to all governments and statesmen, reminding them that they are bound by the will of the peoples to respect peace, however difficult it may be to solve certain problems.

Dean's initiative

The initiative for this historical event came from Dr. Bednar, former Dean of the Theological Faculty of Prague. It met with the deep understanding and full agreement of the Roman Catholic Archbishop Dr. Beran.

It was a really memorable event when on Jan. 16, 1948, for the first time in history, representatives of all the Christian Churches of Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia met in the Archbishop's residence in the famous Prague Castle. In a really fraternal spirit they agreed on this common manifesto.

No other step could be a better beginning than this example of friendly co-operation between groups that have for centuries been fighting each other, or at the best living beside each other without understanding. Here is a sincere expression of Christian conscience in a deeply confused world. Every conflict is a great accusation of the Christian Churches, a proof that they have not made the decisive effort to realise the brotherhood of men.

The Prague manifesto of Feb. 2, 1948, was a powerful challenge to the conscience of the Christian world. Will it find followers in other nations?

PREMYSL PITTER.

LEST WE FORGET

THE death of Mahatma Gandhi has called forth tributes to this "Great Soul" from statesmen, ecclesiastics and editors throughout the world. But the memory of the public is proverbially short, and that is partly because the memory of the leaders of public opinion is shorter still. Peace News, therefore, takes this occasion to remind both the public and its leaders of what has been said—and of certain other matters upon which their words have a bearing.

Homage or Humbug?

GENERAL SMUTS: "A prince among men has passed away, and we grieve with India in her irreparable loss."

May we remind General Smuts that the Asiatic Land Tenure and Representation Act, forbidding Indians in South Africa to purchase or use property, has not yet been withdrawn? That last year nearly 2,000 Indians were arrested for peacefully defying this Act? That one of Gandhi's last appeals was to "the best Western mind of South Africa to revise this anti-Asiatic and anti-colour prejudice?"

PRESIDENT TRUMAN: "Another giant among men has fallen in the cause of brotherhood and peace."

May we remind President Truman that several thousand conscientious objectors are still deprived of political and civil rights in the USA for having championed the same cause by the same means as Gandhi?

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT: "It is the earnest hope of the British Government in the United Kingdom that his example will be followed, and that his moral influence will continue still to guide men in the paths of peace."

May we remind the British Government that it is still conscripting the young men of this country for training in the paths of violence?

ANDREI GROMYKO: "His name will always be linked with the struggle of the Indian people for independence."

May we remind Mr. Gromyko

that there are other countries still struggling for independence—the Baltic States for example?

THE POPE: "Expressed profound emotion and preoccupation for the future of India."

May we remind His Holiness that the future of Europe calls for spiritual leadership as great as Gandhi's?

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY: "He devoted his life to win men from violence to peace and brotherhood."

May we remind Dr. Fisher that the Church of England has not yet pronounced any condemnation of violence?

THE EDITORS OF THE DAILY EXPRESS, NEWS - CHRONICLE, etc., etc.

May we remind these gentlemen that Gandhi publicly defended the Peace Pledge Union against the "unmeasured condemnation" of the Press? That he was not more "uncompromising" in his resistance to an alien dictatorship than those European pacifists whom they accused of "collaboration," and that he was murdered for opposing militant nationalism, by the editor of a nationalist paper?

Finally, may we remind Gandhi's admirers, whoever they may be, of the words of St. John Chrysostom: "He who praises a man ought to follow him, and if he be not ready to follow him, he ought not to praise him."

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THE REALIST

TO judge by the many obituaries on Gandhi we have read in the past two weeks, the thing above all others that seems to have perplexed, even exasperated, his European contacts, was the co-existence in one man of "spirituality" and "astuteness." "A shrewd appraisal of events and men often surprised colleagues and opponents alike." (Manchester Guardian).

When you come to think of it, though, this surprise is itself rather surprising. For if the ability to see events and men as they really are demands anything, it demands that we should be purged of wishful-thinking, of blind reactions, of all the thousand-and-one forms of self-indulgence to which mankind is naturally prone. True realism, in fact, both demands and denotes a true spirituality.

The surprise of Gandhi's colleagues and opponents can only mean that the nature of spirituality has been forgotten. That which comes "as a refiner's fire," comfortable to no-one and least of all to the person it inhabits, has been confused with its very reverse—sentimentality, the subtle smearing-over of vital contrasts, at least with talk about "the spirit."

The British Weekly was nearer the mark when it observed that Gandhi, like Marx, "took evil seriously." It was this that enabled him to overcome evil with good. Proof against sentimentality, he was proof against cynicism too, which is sentimentality gone bad. No wonder he stood apart! For while the non-pacifist generally acknowledges the power of evil, but not that of good; the pacifist, too often, acknowledges the power of good, but not that of evil. Both are alike in believing that evil should be overcome with good—as long as there is no evil to overcome.

Gandhi, it seems, like Dick Sheppard, found it quite natural to love. Friend or foe, saint or sinner, evoked the same ready response. Yet it is noteworthy that he more often spoke of "insistence on truth" (satyagraha) than of "love" itself. And this, surely, was wise. For to most of us the moments when we really know that each man is a "son of God" are few and far between; and in the intervals we have to rely on conscience and "the casket of a creed" if we are not to go widely astray.

Furthermore, if it is only by virtue of love that a creed can be brought alive, it is only by virtue of a creed that love can be made socially effective. That is why the dogma, implicit in the Peace Pledge, of "the supreme value of the human person" is so important. Without it, pacifism means at best only charitable behaviour towards our neighbours, or tender care for our work; at worst, a shrinking from the truth about ourselves and our fellows, forced benevolence lacking even the spontaneity of a row. But with it, pacifism becomes a summons to revolutionary action: for there is hardly an institution in our society that does not call for re-orientation to bring it into harmony with that dogma.

We are often told that the world is not ready for pacifism: that pacifism would only work if people were better than they are. If people were better than they are, there would be no need for pacifism to work; the world is as ready for pacifism as pacifists are ready for the world.

THE DIRECTION OF LABOUR

Laurence Housman's

By J. B. PICK

who first summarises Laurence Housman's argument which appeared in Peace News on Jan. 23 and 30 as follows:

The war disordered economic life and made conscription inevitable. The majority accepted both industrial and military conscription as necessary and justifiable; were willing to serve the community at the sacrifice of personal interests, of which "vocation" is one. Should they not, therefore, accept conscription for reconstruction, since this too is for the good of the community? The argument for vocation is pretentious and insubstantial, since vocation has almost ceased to exist in this machine age. Where it does exist the individual has no right to pursue vocation if he is "called" to an already over-crowded or inessential trade. If the sense of citizenship were strong we would not wait to be conscripted, we would volunteer for essential work. As it is, the retaining of 190,000 German prisoners in this country is a more grievous offence against liberty than the direction of the British unemployed to essential work.

MR. HOUSMAN'S argument is not sound. A majority accepted wartime compulsion because the acceptance of State authority has become almost automatic to majorities everywhere; this is due not to benefits accruing from State benevolence, but to the fact that over centuries the State has usurped the title to control the people once enjoyed by the Church. A confusion has arisen between the concept "community" and the concept "State," a confusion evident throughout Mr. Housman's article.

AS THE MINERS SEE IT

If Mr. Housman had worked during the war, as I did, with the coalminers, he would know that the minds of the working people of this country were not wholly made up to sacrifice the reality of personal life to the myth of "communal effort." A minority did in fact join the Services because of anti-fascist or patriotic idealism. But Mr. Housman must surely admit the right of those who risked their lives to resist German National Socialism, to resist British National Socialism by refusing to countenance industrial conscription?

He singles out the retaining of 190,000 German prisoners of war, and opposes it to the conscription of British labour. But in fact both of these Government actions are aspects of the trend towards totalitarianism of present-day Socialist ideology. Industrial conscription and POW slavery should be associated with the activities of the Special Branch, the vetting of scientists by MI5, the travel ban, the ban on the free import of foreign literature, the restriction of book publication while the Government wastes paper, and a dozen other signs which show that Britain is fast following in

Gandhi's murder

IT is sincerely to be hoped that Laurence Housman is wrong in his fear that Gandhi's murderer cannot go unpunished. At least we shall hope his life will be spared, for as Roy Walker so accurately says, the execution of the assassin will repeat the crime.

If anything good is to come out of this supreme tragedy it must be in immediate evidence that Gandhi's teaching survives his death, a demonstration of this to the whole world would be the refusal by the Indian Government to deal violently with the offender.

By such a refusal Gandhi's teaching may well be brought to influence the attitude of many other countries to the treatment of crime and criminals.

FRANK DAWTRY.

London S.W.1.

The key to peace

THE passing of Gandhi is a world event because his life has a universal significance, contains the secret of its salvation and the key to its peace.

The world instinctively feels that in an era of shattering values, which is nowhere so strikingly symbolised as in Gandhi's assassination, Gandhi possessed the secret of stability and permanency.

Wherever men and women are still capable of thinking and meditating,

argument unsound

the footsteps of Nazi Germany. An intensive export drive and State control of industry were methods adopted by the Germans between the wars, to "stabilise" their economy.

AWAY FROM DEMOCRACY

All this is disguised by the fact that many members of the Government are too stupid to realise what is happening, and others are too clever to take one step forward towards totalitarianism without making certain that an underling will take, publicly, half a step backward towards "democracy." Though, if it is absolute industrial efficiency Mr. Housman wants, he should surely have worked for a German victory, since the Nazis did the job rather more thoroughly—that is why they had to be destroyed.

Mr. Housman proceeds to deal with the vocationalists without apparently admitting the possibility that the question of fundamental meaning in life and work is more profound and significant than "Where is my next meal coming from?" What fundamental meaning is there in the life of a nation whose members are all engaged in uncongenial work in order to serve a "community" which consists only of others engaged in equally uncongenial work, and the vast army of bureaucrats which administers the farce? If a man is not permitted to live in that work for which he is most fitted and adequate, in which he is fully extended and consumed, then he is not permitted to possess personal destiny; life for him loses fundamental meaning.

INESSENTIAL VOCATIONS

Mr. Housman says, in effect, that vocation is "out of date." In fact it is usually the case that the vocational workers of today are engaged in work which the State—though not necessarily the community—must consider "inessential." They are priests, writers, painters, musicians, philosophers—though doctors, nurses, engineers and teachers must be included among them, even perhaps a very few neglected politicians. I have also met vocational buyers-and-sellers, garment-designers and even coal-miners. But the solution to the problem of vocation—which means, of the increasing meaningless of working life—does not lie in compulsion. Where there is no deep sense of vocation, where there is no opportunity for individual

the death of Gandhi will call for a new self-examination and dedication.

I first became aware of Gandhi about 1920. I had begun to be interested in India about 1910, and after the Great War I returned to the study. Every few weeks I sent to Indian publishers for parcels of books. In one of these parcels was a badly-printed pamphlet on very cheap paper, entitled "Indian Home Rule," by Gandhi. The cost was a few coppers. I read it greedily. I still have it, marked on almost every page. I knew at once that I had discovered a seer and a prophet, and set out to learn all

LETTERS

I could about him. From that time I have followed Gandhi's comings and goings. I have corresponded with him and several times conversed with him, in order to discover the essence of his transformed being. I say transformed advisedly, because what struck me most about Gandhi was the radical changes in his way of life which occurred after about 1908.

I have seen in Gandhi a concentration of power, or a secret of power release that is as striking in the spiritual realm as the atomic bomb is in the physical realm. The most precarious incident ended that life, but it may have served to increase its potency. Now that Gandhi is no longer in the

RECORD!

PPU Groups in several parts of the country sold last week's Gandhi Memorial Number of PN on the streets and outside public meetings; our own staff took a hand in London. As a result, the maximum number of copies we are allowed to print was disposed of—and orders are still streaming in.

By far the greater number of these copies found their way into the hands of people who do not ordinarily see PN. Now is the time to follow up this initiative, by getting the paper back on to the bookstalls, so that they may go on getting it easily. Supposing every Group orders at least one extra copy for sale at the local newsagent's?

Furthermore, if you have any spare copies, even used copies, left, we should be glad if you would return them to us, so that we may supply part of the continuing demand. This is the way to build up circulation again; keep it up!

And if you can't help directly like this, please remember the Fund. With the Fund, we can increase publicity and improve the quality of the paper, making it more worthy of our cause. This week another gift of £25 has reached us in response to our reader's challenge. Any more offers?

THE EDITOR.

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craftsmanship, a sense of personal responsibility for the quality and organisation of work is a pointer in the right direction. The rest will eventually follow.

NO SOLUTION

The solution to the problem of production does not lie in centralisation, large-scale planning, bureaucratic industry—these *do away* with the sense of individual responsibility. To say that the workers have responsibility because it is borne by the State, and their elected representatives form the Government of the State, is to talk abstract nonsense. When Labour wins an election the power is in the hands of certain people and certain interests. When the Tories win, power is in the hands of other people and different interests. And that is all. The interests of the people as a whole can never be served. Where responsibility is not personal and immediate, where it is delegated, it is meaningless.

True responsibility implies the administration of the work by the workers themselves, at the factory, mine or workshop, perhaps by committees guided, but not controlled, by experts. In other words, freedom, good workmanship, increased production, meaning, vocation and de-centralisation are linked together, standing in opposition to compulsion, whether in peace or war, to State-socialism, and to the sleight-of-mind which slips in the word "community" in order to plug the concept "State."

As for immediate measures to overcome the economic crisis: there are no sufficient measures. Quite plainly, under present conditions of national sovereignty the crisis cannot be overcome. Incidentally, have all those who agree with the views of Mr. Housman yet volunteered for the coal-mines?

flesh, the deeper significance of his life may impress itself upon the minds of millions of people all the world over, and lead them into developing or generating the kind of power which distinguished him, albeit in exceedingly small measure.

Gandhi's life, from about 1908, was a progressive pilgrimage in sacrificial living. He cast off one encumbrance or indulgence after another—position, wealth, sex, family—until he emerged as the incarnation of a cause, of the soul and freedom of India, and finally as the human spirit transcending all boundaries, races, creeds and colours, becoming as universal as humanity itself.

The thought of Gandhi urges one to three values: simplicity in living, truthfulness and friendliness, which involves all the service that is embraced in the term vocation.

WILFRED WELLOCK.

Birmingham.

That extra ounce

EACH of us is now allowed an additional ounce of margarine each week. To us this seems only a slight extra, but to people getting hardly any fat ration it would be a godsend. If every reader of Peace News would hand over to a Save Europe Now depot this extra 1lb. of margarine every four weeks, the result would be substantial.

MARY A. HARLAND.

18 Ireton Street,
Liverpool, 4.

WILL GANDHI'S METHOD BE FORGOTTEN?

NO one can properly minimise the recent ugly happenings in India and Pakistan. There has been mass hooliganism of the most savage type. When the river is in flood, it seems, all the mud and filth come to the surface. Yet there are reasons for such outbursts of mass violence, and some of them are being overlooked.

Among these people, social inequality is general. Healthy economic development has been stunted for two centuries. The wonder is that the brutalities, already bad enough, have not been even more serious. And profoundly disturbing as they are, they have taken place amid 400,000,000 people—that is, one-fifth of the entire human race—and those who have participated still constitute only a small fraction of the whole.

In the Indian society of today there are all stages of social organisation, from the feudal to the most modern. On such a society the impact of the Second World War could not but be tremendous. That war militarised the people of India as never before in history. The simple villager whom the war dragged into the armed forces and war industries has become a changed man. He has become conscious of his own power; his ambitions have been aroused. The war inflamed the spirit of violence, and it is partly this for which, in the shocking postwar events, we are paying.

Looming larger from the viewpoint of history is the fact that never before has there been a transfer of political power, on so great a scale, so peacefully and with so much good will. And despite the saddening breakdown of self-control by many people, this remarkable historic changeover came about because, for the last 25 years, a great political party in India, led by a great leader, eschewed violence and tried non-military resistance to win political ends.

Persistent misconceptions

Oddly enough, there are still countless people outside of India who fail to understand the facts which we have learned from our concrete experience. How often one hears the argument that India's non-violent campaign succeeded with the British, because they are essentially a generous and sportsman-like people, but would have had no success against a tougher imperialism. There is a twofold answer to this line of reasoning. In the first place, all men are virtually the same under the skin. In the second place, the Anglo-Saxons have not shown in the past that they have such unique qualities. Take for example the days of Black and Tans in Ireland, the wholesale burning of villages and torturing of rebels to death after the Indian Mutiny, or even the bombing of Germany or Japan.

Others like to paint non-violence as something peculiar to the Indian character and religion which makes it impossible for Western nations to follow. Yet have we not seen that when his passions are aroused, the Indian can be as violent and brutal as

Mass slaughter and the threat of war, political assassination—all these aspects of violence have shaken India as it gained freedom and divided into two Dominions. Have the outbreaks permanently eclipsed the teachings of Gandhi? In this article, released by Worldover Press, a Hindu writer looks at this question in a long term perspective rarely found in current press reports. The author is a professor of economics in Dacca, capital of Eastern Pakistan, and recently completed a series of lectures on Indian affairs in six European countries. He is a member of the War Resisters' International Council.

anyone else? No Indian religion is more non-violent in spirit than Christianity.

Nor has vegetarianism anything to do with Indian non-violence. Some of our best non-military fighters have been Pathans who are a race of great warriors, and who are habitual eaters of meat. Neither has Yoga anything to do with the question; 99 per cent. of Gandhi's followers know nothing of Yoga or of spiritualism.

Some have tried to explain the non-violent movement of India as basically a weapon of the weak. In a sense, perhaps it is; but in another sense, definitely it is not. Non-violence is never more successful than when a man renowned for his military prowess exercises it. But even if it is a

should have expected that the serious problems of 400,000,000 people could be solved, automatically, by the simple winning of independence. As a matter of fact, our most difficult tasks are only now beginning. All sorts of mediæval institutions and reactionary forces which have been swept away during the last 200 years in other countries, have been preserved in India, many of them under the protective wings of Pax Britannica. The economic condition of the country has gone from bad to worse.

Now, when the common man is at last waking up from his long slumber, he demands quick and drastic reforms; old animosities spur him on to sudden rectification of his unsatisfying status; there is bound to be trouble over widespread areas. There are many in India, too, who do not really want a peaceful solution of grave problems, and who want to fish in troubled waters. There are feudal elements who dream of getting back their mediæval authority. There are capitalists who, if they can, will ape the worst features of American big business. There are ambitious peasant and labour leaders who hear voices on the wind, and who are not averse to setting themselves up as dictators modelled on those of outside nations. The period of transition will not be easy; for the coming ten or twenty years, more troubles in India will be brought to worldwide notice.

Hopeful factors not wanting

Literally millions in India and Pakistan have seen the results of non-violent struggle, and are still persuaded of its usefulness. If some forget the lessons they have learned, others will remember.

One thing that grew into a conviction during the Gandhi crusade for Indian independence was the redeemability of mistakes, the chance to pick up after defeats and go on with the same persistent aims. The long struggle was never a simple one. Failures came again and again. But the failure of a non-violent movement was not followed by that demoralisation which always came immediately on the heels of the earlier defeats of violence.

The present writer as a youth was wrapped up in a violent campaign with some of the bravest and most sacrificial young men one could find anywhere; but our most heroic exploits produced scant results. After every failure, we receded into greater and greater moral depression. By contrast, those who struggled on the non-violent level seemed to emerge from one set-back only to undertake another effort with fresh courage.

Something else was taught our people by the non-violent Gandhi campaign. We learned that resistance is always possible. It is not invariably feasible by force of arms; but by non-violence, resistance can be stopped only by wholesale extinction of a freedom-loving population. Even leadership was often quite unnecessary; when leaders were taken away, local campaigners spontaneously organised their own struggles. This, for any people, is a supremely important thing to have grasped.

Moreover, in the non-violent method, there is a significant place for everyone—no matter how old or young. So long as resistance was based on violence, it was only the young men who could play a decisive part. By non-violence, however, even the very old, the women, the veriest children could carry on effective "fighting."

Finally, the Gandhi method lifted the struggle between the Indians and the British to a higher moral plane, and in that process ennobled both. Formerly the Indian resister considered the British officer a petty tyrant whom he had to obey out of expediency, but whom he might kill if he had a chance. The British officer in turn felt he was sitting on a volcano, and for his own safety must keep down the Indians with harsh rule. One British officer told me how easy it had been for him to kill Germans in the First World War, without compunction; but when he was ordered to disperse a band of non-violent resisters in India, and two of them were killed, he had never been able to get over it. The struggle has induced heart-searching on both sides, and at the very time when India was securing independence, there was a better feeling than ever before between Indians and the British. In a violent struggle, no such outcome is conceivable.

These lessons, the recent violent outbreaks notwithstanding, are not forgotten. They have a direct application to the hard problems facing the new Dominions. If Gandhi's teachings are momentarily obscured, they will not be lost, for they are embedded in the hearts of the majority, and have deep roots in the struggle that set us free.

—by—
Samar Ranjan Sen

weapon of the physically weak, is not its great success all the more encouraging? If the weak, starving, uneducated, undisciplined, poverty-stricken Indian peasant could achieve so much with this weapon, surely the educated, disciplined Englishman, German, or American should be able to use it with even greater effect.

No idea has less truth behind it than the belief that non-violence is, for Indians, a traditional method of struggle. They did not adopt it because they were incapable of fighting with arms. In fact, until Gandhi came into leadership a quarter of a century ago, Indians always fought Britain with guns.

Between 1757 with the Battle of Plassey, and 1848, Indians fought hundreds of battles to resist the spread of British imperial power. Nor were the Indians defeated because they were poor warriors; after all, the military skill and courage of Gurkhas, Sikhs, Pathans and Mahrattas are well known all over the world. They were beaten because the industrial revolution had given the British a technical superiority which enabled them not only to defeat India, but to conquer Napoleon.

Britain took a hundred years to complete the conquest of India, and shortly thereafter, in 1857, came the first war of Indian independence, known to the outside world as the Indian Mutiny. It is not usually realised that this struggle was carried on over an area of thousands of miles, and on a scale larger even than the French or the Russian revolutions. The Indians came within an inch of success. After the horrors of that conflict, the Indians had their arms taken away from them. How could they fight any more without guns? They felt exactly as the French felt in 1940.

Still the spirit of the people was indomitable. There were armed rebellions on a local scale through the last two decades of the 19th century and the first two decades of the 20th. After each failure, the mood of depression deepened. In 1919, the prospect appeared more hopeless than ever. Demobilised soldiers returned to their villages from World War I and attempted uprisings, but the British crushed them with severity. The whole country was plunged into despair.

Coming of a new technique

It was at this stage that Gandhi came with his programme of non-violent resistance, after successful experiments with it in South Africa. That much is widely known. What is still unknown, for the most part is this:

The Gandhi technique was a very strange one for India. Many of the old leaders of the Congress Party—and Mr. Jinnah was one of them—thought it was extremely ridiculous. The upper and middle classes especially those who had received western education, never took to it kindly. The young university students were often openly contemptuous, placing more faith in bombs and guns. But the rank and file of the nationalist movement took up Gandhi's method with enthusiasm. With an unerring instinct they saw in it a way out of the terrible morass they were in. It heartened them immeasurably to know that their fight against imperialism need not cease merely because they had no howitzers or bombing planes. But as they practiced the new technique, they discovered that in non-violence they had a more powerful weapon than all the military weapons they had ever possessed.

Eventually, in a brief time as historic struggles go, non-violence proved successful. But no one

THE CHOICE

Out of the land of Pharaoh,
Out of the House of Bondage
Moses led his people.
He led them not by earthly power or violence
But by his obedience to the Word of God,
The Law of Good.
But in the wilderness they rebelled
And made the figure of a golden calf to worship
The symbol of the power they had escaped,
And so disclosed the god within their hearts.
Yes, despite the tables made of stone
The mercies and deliverance of their God
They worshipped most the golden calf of power.
And killed—some say—their leader, sent of God
And suffer from their blood-guilt to this day
And are in bondage to the elements
And powers of this world.
Mahatma led his people out of bondage
Not by earthly power or violence
But by his obedience to the Word of God,
The Law of Love.
By the way of thought-resistance
By the way of Truth-power
He delivered them from the over-lord.
But in the wilderness of conflicting ideologies
They have rebelled
And killed their leader sent of God,
By that same violence from which
He sought to save the world.
And now if to the golden calf they bend
Back to a greater bondage than before
They'll go—the bondage of the strongest of the
powers
Of earth; the blood-guilt on their souls for
evermore.
They have their choice and if they choose his Way
Who died in living it, he has not died in vain
And India will save her soul alive.
Christ lives though Jesushood is slain.

ESME WYNNE-TYSON.

Jan. 30, 1948.

PASTORAL

"Not this man, but Barabbas!"

IT is commonly assumed that Barabbas was a common vulgar thief and murderer, and that the Jews had become so depraved that they actually chose a degraded homicide to a holy man like Jesus. I have heard sermons, and read expositions in which that has been the tacit, and even overt assumption. Such a reading, of course, is a perversion of fact, and misrepresents the whole historic situation.

Never in human history have the leaders in Church and State, and the people generally made a hero of a common thief and murderer in private life. Barabbas was nothing of the kind. As his name (Bar-abbas) implies, he was probably the son of a priest, a respectable citizen, a member of the zealot, patriotic party, the under-ground resistance movement in Judæa and Galilee, a man fired with a burning hatred of the Roman aggressor, and passionately eager to set his country free from the galling yoke of a foreign domination.

Gathering together a number of his fellow patriots, he had tried to surprise the Roman Guard, and with the cry of "liberty" on his lips, deliver his country with physical violence.

The record says, "Barabbas . . . lay bound with them that had made insurrection, men who in the insurrection had committed murder." Note, the sacred writer calls the shedding of human blood in a political and national fight, what it is—"murder."

The insurrection of Barabbas failed, as such attempts generally do, but spite of his failure, Barabbas remained the darling idol, the adored hero of the leaders in the Jewish Church and State, and of the populace generally: he was exactly the kind of military saviour the Jews at that time all longed for, under their political bondage.

Jesus had no sympathy with the violent methods of the Zealots. He knew that the sword could never achieve liberty, and He had another remedy for the ills and oppressions of His fellow-countrymen. He would have them achieve their freedom by the all-conquering power of love, and the overcoming of evil with good.

"Love your enemies," He said, "Bless them that curse you." "If you abide in my words, then are you truly my disciples, and you shall know the truth, and the truth shall set you free."

But the Jews would have none of it, and when Pilate set the choice before them, the Prince of Peace, or the violent Barabbas, and when he even urged that he should release unto them their true King, they cried out angrily, "not this man, but Barabbas! Release unto us Barabbas!"

The day the Jews made that mad choice, they sealed their own doom. Following henceforth the method of Barabbas, they but encompassed their own destruction, and for well-nigh two thousand years, they have ceased to be a nation, a people without home and country, because when the choice was set before them, "twixt this darkness and that light," they chose the darkness, clamoured for the military saviour, and crucified the Prince of Peace. As one has truly said, "If you want an argument for the truth of Christianity, you have it there—the Jews!"

The trouble today is that people want both Christ and Barabbas, and don't seem to see the difference between them. They honour Christ with their lips, and then walk in the way of Barabbas. The end for us and the human race will be more tragic and pitiable in this 20th century than it was for the Jews in the first century, unless we mend our ways, and turn to the right and sane choice. The military ways of Barabbas spells destruction and death: the way of the Prince of Peace is "life, and life more abundantly."

EDWIN FOLEY.

After Dortmund Youth Conference:

HOLIDAYS IN BRITAIN FOR SICK GERMAN CHILDREN?

JUST returned from an international youth-week at Meschede, near Dortmund, Connie Jones and three other young Birmingham pacifists are already preparing for the next step in international friendship.

This is being decided this week-end by the Birmingham Committee of Save Europe Now. It is hoped that it will take the form of convalescent holidays in Britain, in August, for a number of German children of 11—14, selected by a Dortmund children's doctor.

The conference, organised by the Dortmunder Jugendring and attended also by four French, four Swedish and four Swiss young people, as well as representatives from the four zones of Germany, met from Jan. 15 to 25, and was inaugurated by the Lord Mayor of Dortmund.

Confronting "the ruins and collapse of our world," its 60 members sought "new ways out of the chaos." And they found—the need for individual responsibility, particularly in the task of bridging the gap between East and West.

"War is idiocy"

"War is the greatest idiocy, which we reject in any shape and in any circumstances," they declared in a unanimously agreed statement. "It brings no profit, only collapse to all nations, even the 'victors'."

"Everywhere and always we must aim at calming the international atmosphere and at removing international and social abuses.

"In practical terms, that means that if we are separated from each other by lack of mutual knowledge, understanding, and love, if we are separated nation from nation, party from party, world-view from world-view, man from man, we must overcome distrust with trust. It means we must provide a bridge between Russia and America, and America and Russia.

"To this end, every single individual and every nation must be prepared in earnest to take the first step."

Analysing the root-problems of the present day, and applying to them the slogan of the conference—"Through friendship to peace"—the agreed statement noted the following conclusions.

"Though Hitler is dead . . ."

"Though Hitler is indeed dead, he remains a spiritual danger to each one of us. We believe the world's youth is ready to co-operate in removing that danger."

Education, therefore, must consist not only of "pure science, technical knowledge, and physical training," but also of the promotion of opinions conscientiously arrived at. Learning to think critically "will impede the disastrous formation of masses who toe the line, depriving man of his dignity."

"The principle that 'what the State needs is right' will lead us toward a new catastrophe. Only the recognition that each nation has a right to exist, and that each nation must subordinate its sovereignty to the international community can ensure a harmonious communal life in the world, or democracy of nations.

To achieve harmony

"In an orchestra, there are not only drums and pipes—every instrument has to contribute its music to achieve harmony. Spiritually, politically, and economically, all of us, throughout the world, are inextricably bound together for good or ill.

"Every State must strive, for itself and in co-operation with the other States, to achieve that economic order which will minimise the tension between the rights of personal freedom and social and economic justice.

"Our goal is the democratic and social State where internal peace is maintained by social justice and freedom.

"Therefore, we are opposed to production being controlled by single individuals, and want instead a just distribution of products that will

overcome nationalism and any kind of capitalism.

"We reject militarism and conscription. We consider the free civilian service of the International Voluntary Service for Peace a model of international co-operation.

"Everyone should be given the right to resist conscription on religious, ethical or political grounds, and to express with impunity the spirit and the letter of such resistance."

Recalling the persecution of people on grounds of race, creed, world-conception, social class, education, and spiritual and physical handicaps, the statement expressed opposition to "any degradation and misuse of man by man."

False conceptions of Christianity and "an exclusively materialistic socialism," it declared, "have not stood the test" of the forces of persecution and of the enslavement of man by "technics."

"True Christianity and real socialism must discover and join with each other to produce an economic order under which Christianity will not be misused for political ends nor socialism be considered a religion."

The agreed statement of the conference concluded: "We realise that the re-birth of mankind cannot be achieved merely by demonstrations, conferences, and outward organisation, but by trying to find, through inner conviction, a communal way." And it quoted Francis of Assisi's prayer:

"Make me an instrument of thy peace."
H.S.M.



"THROUGH FRIENDSHIP TO PEACE"

The school at Meschede, near Dortmund, where the Conference took place.

GERMANY'S WORLD GOVERNMENT GROUPS HOLD CONFERENCE

From our Correspondent in the U.S. Zone.

"The Weltstaat Liga, of Munich, previously mentioned in Peace News, Jan. 9, scored considerable success when 150 delegates met for the first conference at Frankfurt. All four zones were represented.

The delegates agreed that the establishment of a World Parliament and the giving up of certain national rights of sovereignty in favour of a universal organisation was the only possible way to secure peace and justice between the nations. Such a step would lead to future happiness, harmony and prosperity without any nation sacrificing its individual cultural heritage.

Subjects like "World Government

and Germany," "World Government and the United Nations," "World Government and Pan - Europe," "World Government and the Soviet Union" were discussed. J. T. Heydecker, the president of the League, reported on the progress of the German League, as well as on similar organisations abroad.

Women to be taught Politics

In Frankfurt (U.S. Zone) a political training college for women has been opened by the local women's organisation. Courses have already been started under the direction of Mrs. Ulla Illing. A spirit of peace, good will and international understanding is particularly fostered there.

Give our people a permanent peace

The following plea for a permanent peace through economic and political common-sense was expressed in a Christmas appeal to the world from all zones, by 80 leading German representatives of the Church, Learning and the Law:

"At this historic moment, when the future of Germany is about to be decided, we, as representatives of the Church, Learning and the Law, conscientiously impelled by a sense of responsibility for our people, as also for Europe, raise our voices in warning and appeal: Grant to our people and thereby to the world a permanent peace, out of which the recovery of the nations and the healing of Europe may spring.

"Even if the vanquished have surrendered their rights, the victors are nevertheless bound by justice and the law of God. Let it therefore not be a peace of retaliation, but a peace of justice.

"Give us a peace both of economic and political common-sense. Should German economy be permanently destroyed, Germans will in future be denied the possibility of sustaining their lives by honest labour; if our nation is not able to settle down by means of a liveable and consistent political system, it will remain a centre of unrest for the world:

"Above all, relieve the Germans of fear and despair, relieve them of the fear that Germany is condemned to political disintegration and to economic destruction. Let it be made clear that this new chapter in history shall not be determined by suspicion or revenge, fear or selfishness, but by the will to justice and reconciliation, and that humanity which is the most precious possession of our Christian inheritance."

Those signing the appeal, which appeared in the *Main Post* of Dec. 30, 1947, included Cardinal Michael Faulhaber, Archbishop of Munich; the Archbishops of Cologne and Freiburg; the President of the Union of German Mennonite Congregations; the Rectors of the Universities at Berlin, Freiburg, Halle and Marburg, and of the Brunswick, Hannover, Munich and Stuttgart Technical Colleges.

YARMOUTH PROTEST AGAINST CONSCRIPTION

BETWEEN 50 and 60 delegates and 40 visitors assembled in the King Street Labour Club, Gt. Yarmouth, last week, for a meeting organised by the local No Conscription Council. The Education Committee of the Borough had refused to use a school hall for the gathering. The room was well filled by an eager and very attentive crowd. Two press reporters, representing the Eastern Daily Press and the Yarmouth Mercury, were present. The Chairman, Councillor H. J. Shorten, of Gt. Yarmouth, welcomed the delegates and visitors.

The first speaker, Ald. L. F. Bunns-well, of Gt. Yarmouth, spoke on industrial conscription. He said the gravest fact was that compulsion was being accepted as a natural thing. There was growing up a "bulldozer" mentality; an attitude which considered that the only way to overcome problems was to sweep on one side all those whose ideas did not conform with one's own; to crush and compel.

Direction and neurosis

Men and women in industry should not be considered as mere statistical elements. Already it had been shown, in a recent report on the incidence of neurosis among factory workers, that a large number of people were affected by emotional stress, due to employment in unsuitable jobs. This number would greatly increase, he argued, if direction was continued. He thought that much could be done to solve the present unequal distribution of labour by making certain jobs more attractive and by improved wage rates. This coupled with negative direction would be more than ample to rectify the existing chaos.

Ralph Morley, MP, the second speaker, stated why he was opposed to military conscription. Next to slavery, he said, war was one of the worst evils in the world, but although he took that view, he did not oppose conscription on pacifist grounds.

We needed to employ as many people as possible in productive work, not in unproductive activities such as the army. We needed more workers in mining, agriculture, and the export

industries, and yet 200,000 reservists each year would have to leave their work to go for ten days' annual army training, which was equal to a loss of 2,000,000 working days a year.

There was little validity in the argument that conscription made for the equality of sacrifice, because there were so many exemptions. "I don't think," said Mr. Morley, "that there is anything like real equality of sacrifice as far as the National Service Act is concerned."

Military conscription had been a curse ever since it was introduced to the modern world by Napoleon. In 150 years the effect of conscription had been that the horrors of war had been multiplied, that far greater numbers of people were affected by wars, and that army commanders had become increasingly careless about sacrificing their men.

A resolution, condemning peacetime conscription, and calling upon the Government to abolish the National Service Act, was carried with only three dissentients.

Last Fling of Voluntarism

By DENIS HAYES, LL.B.

THE passing of Earl Derby at the ripe age of 82 inevitably recalls to mind the manpower scheme to which, as Director-General of Recruiting in the autumn of 1915, he gave his name. Recruiting in the early months had worked wonders, but after the first year of the war, in which social pressure to "join-up" had been developed to a fine art, only the tied, the unfit, the reluctant and the downright unwilling remained.

Conscription for the first time in British history seemed inevitable; yet the Government held back, fearing the effect of public opinion which had consistently regarded compulsory service as an "imported pest." In particular, the tradition of freedom of service was strong in some of the trade unions most closely associated with the war-effort.

MARRIED v. SINGLE

So at the invitation of the War Office, Lord Derby launched a movement for canvassing all men between 18 and 41. Single men and married men were separated and each category was then divided into age-groups. Men were asked to enlist on the basis that they would not be called up until their particular class was reached, the married men being called only after the single men had been taken.

The movement failed, as it was bound to do, in all except dividing the interests of the married and the single. Had not the failure of the voluntary system been proved to the hilt? The irony of it was that Lord Derby himself, once secretary to Lord Roberts, President of the National Service League, had been a confirmed conscriptionist for years, a pioneer of the movement when open belief in compulsion marked one out as a daring reformer.

Henceforth, conscription of single men was not only inevitable, but demonstrably so.

SOUTHEND MEETING TOLD :

World Citizenship must come before World Government

"To achieve World Peace and Brotherhood it is needful that loyalty to mankind as a whole should take precedence over loyalty to any sovereign state."

WALDENSIAN CHURCH'S CENTENARY

An example to be commemorated

THIS year on Feb. 17, the Waldensian Church of North-Western Italy will celebrate the centenary of the granting to the Waldenses of full religious and civic liberties. Such an event should not pass unnoticed, especially by the Christian communities, since apart from many other notable facts, the Waldensian Church claims, and is generally regarded as being, the oldest of all the Reformed Christian Churches.

Many will probably ask "Who are the Waldenses?" They are a small community living in the Cottain Alps, inhabiting two small valleys: those of the Pellice and the Chisone. All through the Dark Ages they were persecuted, but nevertheless managed to have a French translation of the Bible, known as Olivetan's Bible, made for them at great cost and sacrifice. Many "crusades" were launched against them, but they remained steadfast to their beliefs. In the year 1655 an especially severe attack was launched, bringing about Cromwell's intervention on their behalf, and inspiring Milton's famous sonnet, "The Late Massacre in Piedmont."

FORCED TO FLEE

In the year 1686 after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, both the Duke of Savoy and Louis XIV united their armies and completely captured the valleys, forcing those who were not butchered in the process to flee. Many went to Wurtemberg, where a large Waldensian colony still exists. Others took refuge in Geneva, and it was these who three years later undertook, under the leadership of Pastor Henri Arnaud and Captain Janavel, the hazardous return journey to their now desolate and void valleys. Those who survived the perils of this trek, 400 of them, set about building afresh. Finally, on Feb. 17, 1848, King Charles Albert granted to them complete liberty, religious and civic.

When one reads of the Waldenses one often gets the impression that they must have been a numerous community to have survived such a sanguinary history. The truth is, however, that they have never surpassed a population figure of 20,000.

Despite this, their Church has connections all over the world. There is a large colony in Germany, and another in Uruguay, besides smaller ones in Switzerland and France. One has also to remember the number of missionaries and pastors who went from the valleys to such far-flung places as Africa or even China.

ALBERT BERTIN.

THIS resolution was unanimously passed at the close of a meeting of the recently merged Service-Nation and World Unity Movements at Southend on Jan. 31.

Hugh Schonfield, one of the sponsors of the Service-Nation Movement, addressed the meeting on "The World Citizenship Movement."

In his opening remarks he pointed to Gandhi's life as proof that a man who devoted himself to the pursuit of peace can leave a contemporary and permanent mark upon the world.

THE INTERNATIONAL IDEAL

After sketching the emergence of the international ideal through the centuries, and its abortive efforts to express itself in institutions, culminating in the League of Nations and UNO, Hugh Schonfield said: "It is necessary to create a force outside the national powers. Distrust between nations can only be frustrated by a body which does not belong to any of them and which has no power. This lack of power would be, paradoxically, the greatest persuasion of the World Citizen Movement."

When answering questions, Hugh Schonfield revealed that the movement would rest upon the consent of the Sovereign states involved. In 1944 every government was informed officially of the intention to form this International Nation. The World Citizen Government, when its constitution was recognised by the United Nations, would be a power in the world, with its own Consulates and Embassies.

A body of world citizens was necessary: released from the responsibility of allegiance to their own countries, forming themselves into a new state without territory. "Can we find sufficient people from all nations and races to form a body to speak for the whole of mankind?" he asked.

He thought it a good sign that the Movement had found recruits in eleven countries. "We cannot go straight to World Government," he pointed out, "because too many peoples are backward in their development, and therefore not ready for it. But we have not come to the end of the venture. This movement is a beginning, which may lead to the accomplishment of World Peace."

The address of the World Citizenship Movement, from which literature may be obtained, is 20 Buckingham St., London, W.C.2.

The Nehru-Patel Denial

Agatha Harrison wishes to say that, though she has knowledge of the cable referred to in our issue of Feb. 6, the cable was not addressed to her, neither is she responsible for our summary of the contents.

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MEETINGS, &c.

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at 6.30 p.m. Speaker: Agatha
Harrison. You are cordially invited
to be present.

SOCIETY OF Friends. At the
Friends Meeting House, Mount St.,
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Japan a paying proposition

COMMENTARY CONTINUED

ther meeting of the Foreign Ministers in the early summer.

Is this Mr. Molotov's main reason for making the concession? It is almost certainly one reason. For it is clear that he wishes to prolong the existence of the Foreign Ministers' Council in order not to be left out in the cold when the future of Japan is decided. It seems that even today a Germanic people can derive some benefit from the adherence of an Asiatic race to the Axis.

Schizophrenia?

THE policies adopted towards Japan and Germany by the Western powers provide an instructive contrast. America has decided that Japan must pay her way. Consequently, the industrial family combines are not to be destroyed, and 150 million dollars are likely to be spent in reviving Japanese industries.

In Germany, dismantling goes on, starvation increases, and the "economics of Bedlam" provide the basis for some future politics of paranoia. The new economic charter for Bizonia will be little consolation to the average German. Increased power to administer resources is of little avail if the resources themselves are grossly insufficient.

But why is there this cleavage of policy? Does the Pacific climate inspire a greater secretion of the milk of human kindness than even the mildest of Continental winters?

It would be pleasant to think so. But one cannot help remembering that Japan is an intact unit, and Germany is not. Japan is potentially a paying proposition, Western Germany in its present form is not, or not for a long time.

Japan, like Britain, is an "unsinkable aircraft-carrier" on the edge of a Continent. Western Germany has a land frontier, with its granary on the wrong side, and no easy means of preventing the big, bad Russians from crossing the frontier in the event of war. Germany is now not even the second strongest power in Europe, and so does not come into the reckoning when Power is being balanced. It is merely a responsibility and a burden.

Is this too cynical a view? Perhaps. But the diversion of an Australian wheat-ship to Iraq, whose need is hardly as great as Germany's, immediately after the fall of one government, and immediately before the new government discussed the British treaty, is a clear indication to suspicious minds that we can spare food if there seems to be any diplomatic advantage to be gained by doing so.

The move, if it was a move, did not come off. The treaty was not ratified. We should gain no less advantage and far more self-respect if we diverted a few ships to Germany.

Geometric nightmare

OVERALL, the various incidents of the week are part of the geometric nightmare with which we are all becoming familiar—the encircling by the Western powers of the Russian colossus, and the attempt by that colossus to punch holes or plant time-bombs in the circumference. There

TEN YEARS AGO

From Peace News, Feb. 12, 1938

"The war which will crush militarism and end war will not be one in which the peace-lovers use the methods of the militarists, but one in which they meet the militarists first with the weapons of reason, justice, and conciliation, then with a courageous, unyielding resistance, and finally, if need be, with a loyalty prepared to suffer for the things in which they believe."

—Dr. Alex Wood.

Behind the scenes members of the Government are actively encouraging a plot to foist conscription of youth on the country.

The choice of Lord Derby as the spearhead of the campaign behind the scenes recalls his part in bringing about conscription during the War (1914-18), and his frank views on the subject in the past.

is an increasing sense of inevitability about it all, the only question being whether the circumference will tighten and obliterate the centre, or the centre burst out and shatter the circumference.

All Britain seems able to do about it is to wait for the Marshall Plan and deceive herself into thinking that military alliances represent a healthy unity, a mistake which smaller nations such as Sweden and the Benelux countries are too sensible to make.

That the Labour Party should boycott the Churchill plan for Europe is understandable. But what alternative has it to offer? Such ideas for western unity as it seems to possess are little, if any, better than that to be considered by the Congress of Europe. A European bloc aimed at Russia and the joint exploitation of colonial territories (the British and French are to discuss colonial economic affairs on Feb. 17) is a counsel of despair, however much it may help to speed the Marshall Plan. The Socialists in the Labour Party would do well to convert their own leaders before seeking any more recruits from the public.

Nazi-Soviet documents

THIS is the world context in which the U.S. State Department chooses to publish the documents upon Nazi-Soviet Relations, 1939-1941—a rather different context from that to which Mr. Bevin referred in the Commons. The documents appear to tell us little that we do not already know of the reconciliation that it is possible to make between advantage and ideology, although the Foreign Office may note that Germany employed her Foreign Minister in the negotiations, while we were content to send office-boys to Moscow.

But Mr. Bevin's response to the suggestion that a similar separate British publication should be made is interesting to the student of history. He stated that "... all these questions of pre-war and war history have to be handled very carefully," and, later: "After all, whatever happened in 1939 and 1941, I have got to study what is likely to happen in 1948."

There may still be some innocents who think that State policy is determined by the facts of history. It is clear from this reply that, on the contrary, the facts of history are determined by State policy.

Wages and profits

It is impossible to deal adequately with the Prime Minister's statement on wages in the space available. Given the economic policy which the Government seems determined to pursue, drastic measures are inevitable. But in that case, it would be better to give all power to Cripps or someone else with the courage to make them drastic enough. As it is, the statement deals primarily with wages and salaries, with profits touched upon as an after-thought.

One immediate result is that workers are likely to be attracted away from more-or-less essential industries (whose products are controlled in price and where wages are consequently fixed) to "luxury" industries where wage-increases can still be passed on to the consumer. More important, employers will regard this policy as an encouragement to resist wage demands, and workers will regard it as further evidence of the Government's tenderness to capitalist interests.

This may not be wise of the workers, but they are not expected to show wisdom, only loyalty, God help them. Profits from industry and interest increased by 85 per cent. between 1939 and 1946, and are still increasing, 35 per cent. of the value of export goods alone today goes as profit. It is useless to expect even loyalty if this goes on.

Meanwhile, the economic situation deteriorates rapidly. We are down to the last £25,000,000 of the American loan. Cripps relies on Marshall aid—and the WFTU refuses its co-operation. Food prices, and speculators' morale, begin to fall in America. Some observers predict the "economic blizzard" as likely round about 1952, already given as the date when we shall all be ready for atomic war. Pure coincidence, no doubt. But the pattern of war, scarcity, over-production, maldistribution, war, shows no sign of being supplanted.

GANDHI MEMORIAL MEETINGS

"Let us pledge ourselves to live in Mahatma's spirit"

—STUART MORRIS AT FRIEND'S HOUSE

THE India Conciliation Group, in co-operation with the Peace Pledge Union, the Society of Friends, the National Peace Council and the Women's International League, arranged a meeting in remembrance of Gandhi at Friends House on Feb. 6 at 5 p.m.

The meeting was presided over by Carl Heath, the Chairman of the Group, and a friend of Gandhi's over many years. He spoke with deep feeling out of his affection for Gandhi, but pointed out that they were not there to think so much in terms of the past as to the way in which they could carry on the work of Gandhi into the future. After a short period of silence, Stuart Morris paid the first tribute.

We had not come to mourn the death of Gandhi, he said, but to recognise the value of his life. Compared with his life, death had little significance. We had not come to bury him, for that of Gandhi which lived had brought us together. We had not come to praise him, for that would be an impertinence. Indeed, it was not for his sake but our own that we had come together. How could we do other than try to express our gratitude and pride?

Stuart Morris went on to say that while no-one should seem to make an exclusive claim upon Gandhi, pacifists owed him a particular debt. He recalled how, shortly after Dick Sheppard's death, he had written to Gandhi on behalf of the PPU, asking for his guidance and advice. The reply had been characteristic. Gandhi had sent his blessing and encouragement, but bidden us work out for ourselves what to do.

"If we feel the need at this moment for redoubled effort," he concluded, "let us pause to make certain that our aim is true. If we cannot take Gandhi literally—and he is the last to want a slavish imitation—let us determine to take him seriously. Let us pledge ourselves each to live in that spirit which, without fear or favour, may best interpret the determination to enshrine conscience, to repudiate violence and to recognise in every man the brother whose life must not be crippled and whose blood must not be shed."

Canon W. E. S. Holland followed with headings for thanksgiving and prayer.

Lord Pethick-Lawrence then spoke of the impression which had been made on his mind by the great Indian leader. The world had got to choose between the way of reconciliation, fellowship, non-violence and love, or the way of hatred, suspicion, violence and fear. If the world wanted to avoid disaster it would have to choose the former—the way of Gandhi.

A small choir consisting of students from the London School of Economics sang the hymn "When I survey the Wondrous Cross," which had been one of Gandhi's favourite hymns. The meeting was drawn to a conclusion by Carl Heath, who asked all those present to remain in fellowship together for a period of silence within which they could dedicate themselves anew to continue the work which Gandhi had begun.

AT LONDON UNIVERSITY

Later on the same evening, Lord Pethick-Lawrence presided over a memorial meeting convened by the Indian Students' Union at London University.

Muslim, Hindu, Sikh, Parsee and Indian Christian students delivered short addresses. Mr. S. L. Polak recalled his friendship with Gandhi in S. Africa before the first world war. Even then, he said, all those outstanding personal qualities which were to endear the Mahatma to the Indian people and make him a world figure were clearly apparent.

The Warden of the Indian Students' Union, Dr. S. D. Malaiperman, Lady Pethick-Lawrence and Mr. Palme Dutt paid tribute to Gandhi's work and inspiration. Prof. Laski also spoke.

At the end of the meeting, the following resolution was passed, to be despatched to Pandit Nehru and Devadas Gandhi:

We students representing all Indian communities, present at the meeting convened by the Indian Students' Union (YMCA), held in London, under the Chairmanship of the Rt. Hon. Lord Pethick-Lawrence, deeply mourn the demise of Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of our Nation. We offer our sincere condolences to you and the peoples of our country. We assure you that we shall do our best to put into practice the ideals for which Gandhi gave his life, and dedicate our lives afresh to the cause of communal harmony and selfless service to the Nation.

BOW REMEMBER AN OLD FRIEND

KINGSLEY HALL, Bow,* was crowded out on the evening of Sunday, Feb. 8, when a Memorial Service was held for Gandhi. The Service was conducted by Miss Doris Lester, and tributes were paid by Dame Sybil Thorndike, Miss Mabel Shaw of Africa, Albert Barton of Bow and Dr. Tahmankar of India. Messages were also read from Henri Rosser (France), Herr Mettler (Germany), and Muriel Lester (Air Mailer from the USA).

Sybil Thorndike spoke of Gandhi's integrity. She referred to the deep impression he had evidently made demonstrated by all the people of very different walks of life, from hotel porters and fellow passengers on buses, lift boys to society folk, who had confessed how the news had stunned them—how they, without knowing him, were conscious of a deep sense of loss.

Albert Barton gave an intimate impression of him as a neighbour in Bow. The first impression of a frail little man—"small and surely harmless"—was soon superseded by a recognition of power and outstanding goodness. He gave homely little incidents of Gandhi at a Joy Night giving away a prize someone had presented, of a rabbit in a hutch, and how his small son aged three weeks and received it because he himself hadn't the pluck; Gandhi had soon become a familiar figure in Bow, especially on his early morning walks along the canal banks, when the women at their front doors and the men in the streets would greet him.

Dr. Tahmankar challenged the congregation as a tribute to his memory to set up an Institute for research into Non-violence, suggesting that this would be of greater value to the world than the study of the Atomic Bomb for which such stupendous sums were poured forth.

Mabel Shaw spoke of the wide and deep influence of Gandhiji throughout the length and breadth of Africa. She told how in her forest school in Uganda, the girls were always made familiar with great personalities through biographical studies. These included Gandhiji.

*Where Gandhi stayed when he attended the Round Table Conference on India in 1931.

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